

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B R I S S O T I N S ;
OR, PART OF THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
R E V O L U T I O N ;
AND OF THE
FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE
R E P U B L I C ,

IN ANSWER TO
BRISSEOT'S ADDRESS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

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Translated from the FRENCH of
CAMILLE DESMOULINS,
Deputy of PARIS, in the NATIONAL CONVENTION.

“ Ah, Sister! Sister! Sister! every
“ Way”——

CONGREVE.

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M D C C X C I V .

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF
THE
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY
J. G. G. G.

IN
FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME I
FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE
REIGN OF
THE
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN

TO
THE
END OF THE
REIGN OF
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VOLUME I
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INTRODUCTION.

THE following sheets are the substance of two speeches delivered by the Author in the Jacobin Club of Paris on the 2d and 19th of May : they were intended as answers to a famous Address of Brissot's to his Constituents, in which he accuses the Jacobin Club of being the authors of the misfortunes and disorders of France.

It was in consequence of the following Pamphlet, that the Municipality of Paris, and the Jacobin Club, presented to the Convention their famous petition against the Brissotin Faction, as they termed it, when these two bodies, and the armed force of Paris, surrounded the hall of the Assembly, and forced the Convention to declare traitors to their country the majority of that very Convention ; by which means they firmly fixed the despotic power of the city of Paris over every other part of the empire, and brought about the third Revolution in four years, that of the 31st of May 1793.

The destruction and massacres of Lyons, the perpetual guillotine in constant requisition

at

INTRODUCTION.

at Bourdeaux, twenty-seven Representatives of the people put to death, seven in a state of outlawry, and seventy-five in a state of accusation, where accusation is condemnation ; all these events the effects of the following pages give them a consequence, they are neither entitled to from their matter or their style.—The translator has endeavoured to copy the Author's stile with his thoughts, and give to his readers a specimen of that coarse and fallacious eloquence, with which these bloody men promulgate their murdering principles ; if therefore from a desire to follow too closely the sense and manner of his Author, he unavoidably deviates into gallicisms, and an incorrect mode of writing, he trusts to the candour of the public to excuse the errors on account of the motives.—He was chiefly induced to this undertaking from a desire of shewing, that all the actors which have been continually shifting on the horrid theatre of France, each in their turns have employed the same means of proscription, assassination, and tumult, to obtain their ends, some openly, some with affected horror, and that sooner or later each drinks the bitter cup of outrage and death he administered to others.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRISOTINS.

THOSE surely were to be envied who were elected Deputies of the Convention. Did there ever exist so noble a mission? such a favorable opportunity of acquiring glory? the heir of sixty-five Despots, the Jupiter of Kings, Louis XVI. become a prisoner of the nation, and brought before the avenging sword of justice; the ruins of so many palaces and castles; the wreck of the whole monarchy, immense ma-

B

terials

terials in our hands, with which to build the Constitution; 90,000 Prussians, or Austrians, stopped by 17,000 Frenchmen; the whole nation arisen to exterminate them: Heaven itself uniting with our arms, and sending fluxes as auxiliaries to our cannons: the King of Prussia reduced to less than 40,000 effective men, pursued and surrounded by a victorious army of 110,000 men.—Belgia, Holland, Savoy, Great Britain, Ireland, a great part of Germany, all pressing forward to meet Liberty, and publicly offering up vows for our success. Such was the state of affairs at the opening of the Convention.—To create the French Republic; to disorganize Europe; perhaps to purge it of its tyrants by the irruption of the volcanic principles of equality.—Paris, not merely a department, but the hospitable and common city of every citizen of every department. Paris (which only subsisted by the monarchy, and which, however, has created the Republic) to indemnify for her losses, by placing her between the mouths of the Rhine and the Rhone, and giving her a maritime commerce, by the formation of a canal and a port.—To avenge liberty and democracy of their slanderers, by the prosperity of France; by her laws, by her arts, by her commerce, by her industry, liberated from all restraints; and by her exertions, astonishing even England. In a word,

by

by the public happiness, and above all, to re-establish the people (who, till our days, were reckoned as nothing, and whom Plato in his Republic, although only an imaginary one, had devoted to slavery) in their primitive rights, and to recall them to equality. Such was the sublime vocation of the deputies of the Convention.—What soul so cold and narrow, but what would have been on fire, and expanded in contemplating such glorious destinies? Who has prevented our fulfilling this task of glory! In which party are the enemies of the Republic, the factious, the true lovers of anarchy, the conspirators, the accomplices of Dumourier, of Pitt, and of Prussia?

It is at last time to point them out, and do them justice, and in the volume of facts I am about to collect against them, I shall have drawn up their indictments for the departments, and for history, I shall have before-hand pronounced the universal opinion of posterity.

A few days since Pethion uttered his groans in these terms to the Convention: “ of what use is it to us to refute a slander—to-day sunk to the bottom, to-morrow it swims on the service; refuted at the tribune, and driven from every

mind, the next day it again appears in the public prints, and is hawked in every street. When then will they commit to writing, and not to the winds, their accusations against us; that we may answer article by article?"—You shall be gratified, Pethion, you and yours; I will set down the accusations against you, and I am curious to hear how you will answer my examination on facts.

But in the first place one preliminary observation is indispensable.—There is little candor in asking from us facts which prove conspiracy. The only trace which memory yet preserves of the famous orations, of Brissot and Genfonné, in which they attempted to prove the existence of the Austrian Committee, is the principle they had laid down. That in conspiracies, it is absurd to call for demonstrative facts and judicial proofs: that in no time have they ever been obtained, not even in the conspiracies of Cataline; for conspirators are not used to be so unguarded in their conduct. It is sufficient that there exists strong probabilities:—if so, then will I prove against Brissot and Genfonné the existence of an Anglo-Prussian committee, by a collection of probabilities, a hundred times stronger than those by which Brissot and Genfonné

fonné proved the existence of an Austrian Committee.

I establish it as a fact, that the right side of the Convention, and principally their leaders, are almost all partizans of royalty, accomplices in the treason of *Dumourier* and *Bourbonville*; that they are directed by the agents of Pitt, Orleans, and Prussia; that they wanted to divide or rather overturn France into twenty or thirty federative republics, that no republic might exist. I maintain that no history can furnish an example of a conspiracy more clearly proved, and by such a multiplicity of strong presumptive proofs, than the conspiracy of those whom I call Brissotins, (because Brissot was the soul of it) against the French republic.

But I will go back to the first formation of this conspiracy. Nobody will at this time deny that in our revolution of 1789, Pitt did not wish to make Louis XVI. repay the bill of exchange drawn by cardinal Richelieu on Charles the First, in 1641. Every one knows the part that cardinal acted in the divisions of the long parliament, when he pensioned the most zealous republicans of that day. Many things have since recalled to my mind the rage of Brissot, when, near three years ago, an aristocratic news
writer,

writer, who had discovered the accounts of the secret expences of Mazain and Richelieu, found in shillings, pence and farthings, the sums which those ministers had paid to Fiennes and Hampden, for their zeal in calling for a republic. Those who read the *Patriot Francais*, may remember with how much warmth Brissot fearing the application of that fact to himself, became the champion of the disinterested purity of the English republicans.

Besides this, Pitt wished to take his revenge for the succours accorded by Vergennes to the English American insurgents. But to the great mortification both of Pitt and Brissot, it has been discovered that they have carried liberty beyond what was agreeable or convenient to England! and Pitt and Brissot have both exerted themselves to check it. When general Dillon asserted near four years since, in the Tribune of the Constituent Assembly, that he knew for certain that Brissot was the emissary of Pitt, and sounded his horn as he directed; few people minded him, for Dillon was an aristocrate; but those who have followed the marches and counter-marches of Brissot, from the time of his writings on the colonies and the slave trade, till the evacuation of Holland and the Low Countries, must allow, that in that immense number of volumes a
single

single page is scarcely to be found which does not tend to the advantage of England and her commerce; and to the utter ruin of France:

Will any one contradict me, in what I proved in a speech which the Jacobin Society still remembers, and which I spoke on the political state of the nation at the opening of the legislative assembly; that our revolution of 1789 was a piece of business arranged between the English ministry and a part of the minority of the noblesse; prepared by some in the hopes of turning out the aristocracy of Versailles; and thereby to possess themselves of their castles, houses and offices; by others to saddle us with a new master; and by all, in order to give us two houses and a constitution like that of England! When I made this speech to the society, on the 21st of October, 1789; in which I shewed that the roots of the revolution were aristocratic ones; when I spoke of the *contrivers* of the revolution. I now see before my eyes the impatient gestures of Sillery and Voidel; yet I but gently touched these cords; the time was not yet come: it was necessary to compleat the revolution before its history was written. I only wished to hint to Sillery, that his most hidden thoughts did not escape us; that we held him in check, and that he should not imagine that in our visits to
him

him the harp of his wife, and the more forcible allurements of his fyrens, had so engaged my attention, that my eyes and ears employed alone in admiration, did not allow time to my observing mind to follow all his operations, and to sketch his plans of a republic.

Will any one endeavour to make me believe, that when on the 12th of July 1789, I got on a table, and excited the people to liberty—that it was my persuasive eloquence which half an hour afterwards occasioned that general commotion; that at my voice, the busts of Orleans and Neckar suddenly started from under ground.

Do they imagine, that in the fifteen days I dwelt with Mirabeau previous to the 6th of October, on which day I quitted him, I took no heed of all the measures which forerun the day from the fifth to the sixth?—Do they imagine, that when I went to Mirabeau in the very instant when he learnt that Orleans was set off for London, that his anger at seeing himself deserted, and his imprecations worthy of Philoctetes, and those of his Secretary, and the petrified air of Servan, and in that very time his connections with the Englishman Dumont, and the Genevois Durouveray, and their journey backwards

wards and forwards from Paris to London, gave rise to no conjectures in my mind.

Is it not a fact, that Brissot was the Secretary of Madame Sillery, or, if not hers, of her brother de Crests ? * Is it not a fact, that Brissot and Laclos (for Danton would not accede to it) were the unpunished authors of the fatal petition of the Champ de Mars, concerted with La Fayette, † Brissot and Laclos, that is to say, Orleans and La Fayette.—The reader, who is not perfectly acquainted with the present state of affairs will be astonished to see these two names coupled together. Have patience till I have unravelled the intrigue, and all surprize will be at an end.

Is it not a fact, that Pethion made a journey to London in the same carriage with Madame Sillery, Mademoiselle Orleans, Pamela, and Sercey, who may be called the three graces, and who closely pressed his virtuous and luckily cold

• Chancellor of the Duke of Orleans.

† This was a petition to the Assembly to depose the King, and establish a Republic, when his Majesty was brought back prisoner from Varennes. By the orders of the Assembly, and those of the Municipality, M. de la Fayette dispersed the mob, but it was necessary to order the national militia of Paris to fire on them, by which near 20 persons were killed.

chaste knee; and on his return was he not elected mayor of Paris, and why this suspicious journey? What important negotiation made it necessary, that so great a man as Jerome Pethion should pass the sea, and consult with Pitt?

Does Pethion think I have forgot the dinners Sillery invited me to in the apartment of Apollo three years ago, when they thought I might be of some use to them. The other guests were Pethion, Voidel, Volney, Mirabeau, Barrere, the tutor of Pamela, and other Republicans of the same manufactory; but Robespierre, was never asked.

You then was also one of the faction of Orleans? I hear Barbaroux exclaim to me on account of these dinners; but I answer him, that in the early dawn of the revolution, this coalition was so connected with the real friends of liberty and the republic, that it would have been the excess of stupidity to have fired upon our troops by joining with the Abbé Maury or Boucher D'Argis.—In the month of July 1789, the number of Republicans in Paris did not probably exceed ten; and this it is, which crowns with eternal glory, those old members of the club of the Cordeliers, who began building the edifice of the republic with such slight materials.

When

When one recollects, that it was such a man as Chapelier who laid the first stone of the Jacobin club; when such was the bastardized source of our regeneration, every one must be sensible, that to cast the statue of our idol, liberty, we were obliged to follow the example of that curate, who made his silver image of the virgin out of melted chamber-pots.—What assisted us most marvelously was this: the necessity which all these intriguers were under of courting popular favour, in order that they might make themselves conspicuous to the intendant Laporte,* and by first obtaining the confidence of the people, obtain a larger portion of the civil list. They began by attacking the court with so much the more violence, as they hoped to sell themselves proportionably dear: it was thus that we were enabled to give battle to the veterans, who deserted us by the new levee of intriguers who daily flocked to the Jacobins standard: it was by these means that the Chapelier, the Dumetz, and the Desmeuniers, were driven from the club, by the Barnaves and Duports; and the Barnaves and Duports by the Brissots and the Rolands. It was thus that we vanquished the pure and unqualified despotism of Calonne, by the two legislative houses of Neckar;

* The King's treasurer of the civil list, beheaded shortly after the 10th of August.

and the two legislative houses of Neckar, by the two legislative sections of Brissot, Pethion, and Buzot ; and the active citizens of Syezes and Condorcet, by what we at last arrived at, the fans culottes. It was thus that we successively vanquished Maury the royalist, by Mounier and his two houses ; Mounier and his two houses by Mirabeau, with his absolute negative ; and Mirabeau's absolute negative by Barnave's suspensive veto ; and Barnave and his suspensive veto by Brissot, who chose to admit of no other negative than that of himself and his friends. All these rogues swept by each other from the jacobins, have at last made room for Danton, Robespierre, and Lindet, for those general deputies of every department, mountaineers of the Convention ; the bulwarks of the republic, whose thoughts have never wandered a moment from their object ; the *political and individual* liberty of every citizen, a constitution worthy of Solon and Lycurgus, one indivisible republic ; the splendour and prosperity of France, not an impracticable equality of property, but an equality of rights and happiness. It is thus that Neckar, Orleans, La Fayette, Chapelier, Mirabeau, Bailly, Desmeuniers, Duport, Lamette, Pastoret, Cerutti, Brissot, Ramond, Pethion, Guadet, Genfonné, have been the impure vases of Amasis, from which in the mould of the jacobin club has been cast the golden statue of the

Re-

Republic. Till our days, it has been thought with the legislators of old, that virtues were the necessary basis of a Republic, the eternal glory of the jacobin club will be to have formed one from vices.

The reader has already perceived that Neckar, Orleans, La Fayette, Malouet, Chapelier, Dandré, Desmeuniers, Mirabeau, Duport, Barnave *, Dumolard, Ramond, Dumourier, Roland, Servan, Claviere, Guadet, Genfonné, Louvet, Petion, *PITT*, Brissot, Sillery, are only links of the same chain. They are the same serpent cut into different parts, continually reuniting to his and threaten the popular tribunes, the Jacobins, the People, Equality, and the Republic. I have already placed my finger on the joint which united Brissot and Orleans †.

I shall

* Thus far the popular leaders of the constituent assembly.

† Remark that I do not here immediately mean Philip Egalite, of whom, as an individual, I will speak my opinion presently, but rather of the atmosphere of intrigues and politics, in which he moved and by which he was hurried on. I mean those who composed his council, Ducrest, Salles, Limon, Brissot, with the cotterie of Mad. de Sillery, Genlis, whose itch for notoriety was continually increasing in depravity, who forsook that very natural desire of being the mother of princely bastards, and of musick, for that of
making

I shall finish this irresistible collection of proofs by proving what will astonish the world, that Brissot, Pethion, and their gang, were only the continuers of Orleans's faction.

As Sillery had for a long time suspected me, I was no longer invited to dinner, I therefore could not continue my observations in that place. Gorfes and Carra filled my place in the hall of Apollo.—When I saw that Louvet had succeeded to the favour I once enjoyed, and that Sillery never quitted his side at the Jacobin club, where he was his most zealous champion: When I saw Sillery in the debate on the war, take so warmly the part of Brissot and Louvet, that I could not decide whether Sillery espoused their quarrels against Robespierre, or rather whether it was not they who fought the battles of Phillip and of Sillery against Robespierre, too true a republican for their purposes. If I had not remarked the indiscretion of Carra, who, devoid of all shame, now about a year since, proposed at the

making books; and that of being the authoress of comedies for that of becoming a doctor of Sorbonne; and the calm delights of devotion; of a contemplative life, and of being a monk, for the pleasures of an active life, intermeddling in politics; of becoming superintendant and minister, when she should have succeeded in making a little queen of her scholar, Mad. Orleans.

Jacobin

Jacobin Club, to make the duke of York, or some other prince of the house of Brunswick, king of France, and who, as a preliminary, was to have married mademoiselle Orleans. If I had not remarked the choice made by the president, Pethion, of Carra, as a companion to Sillery, when he was sent to the camp of La Lune to observe the conduct of Dumourier, and to assist at his conferences with the king of Prussia's aide-camp, Mansfield; yet should I have found out the amphytion Sillery, by the ceaseless endeavours of the three journalists* to blacken the characters of Danton and Robespierre; and here is the place for me to make an essential observation.

One of the manœuvres which our enemies have the most successfully employed in this revolution, has been the provident care with which they have magnified to Colossal greatness the reputations of some men, and destroyed that of others. Aristocracy has always taken care to provide a reserve of knaves. Doubtful of the success of her principal actors, all her arts were employed in preparing a reputation for the one who was to succeed him, whenever he should be hissed from the scene. Thus, when they feared

* Carra, Gorsus, Brissot.

that

that Mirabeau, and after him Barnave, whose reputation began to wear out, could not long maintain themselves in their posts ; a vast packet of reputation for patriotism, was hastily collected for Pethion and Brissot, that they might replace them : and after them, Roland, who has so falsely calumniated the commons of Paris, in whose name I thus take upon me thus to address them *.

For a long time your only project has been that of dominion. It was indifferent to you, whether the tools of your ambition were kings, generals, or lacqueys, provided it was not the people. You have always inveterately maintained and protected every thing which was by its very nature opposed to a popular and republican spirit. Shew me by what acts, by what speeches, you have clearly manifested your love of the people. You have sometimes domineered over the people, nay, sometimes you have affected to caress them ; but even your caresses bore such marks of aristocratic haughtiness and repugnance, that there was no mistaking them.

* Owing to some false printing in the original, there is a hiatus in the sense, which the translator has been obliged to fill up.

Your

Your system of establishing a patrician order for your low colleagues, broke out in all your words and writings; you would never mix with the people; in one word, this is your doctrine! According to that, the people are of no other use than as the means of necessary insurrection; after having served to effect a revolution, they are to return to the dust, and are no more to be thought of: they are to allow themselves to be conducted by those who are wiser than themselves, and who are willing to take the pains of governing them! your whole conduct is chalked out on these criminal principles.

In the month of June and July 1792, when the cunning of the court, and the obstinacy of Brissot, had kindled a cruel and fatal war amongst the jacobins; we true jacobins who foresaw the approaching storm from the royal party, who felt the dangerous consequences of the anger with which our colleagues were animated against Brissot and his party, endeavoured at a reconciliation; we even proposed it, and our sincerity was conspicuous. “ We said to you, Brissot, let us unite to free ourselves from the tyrants, and if then you are still susceptible of hatred, we will try each others power.”

D

I assert,

I assert, that you refused the peace proffered to you by the people. I mean by that, that you deceived the people; that you only entered into a truce which was advantageous to yourself; I above others, importuned you for six weeks, in order to obtain this reconciliation. You Brissot, and above all, you Pethion, constantly received us haughtily, fulkily, and coldly; you never could conceal that hatred with which our very presence inspired you. You stretched out a finger to us, but never the hand.—You did not even think it necessary to refuse yourselves the gratifications which haughty minds derive from treating others with insolence and contempt: I call Danton to bear witness to these truths. He who would have given you up to the consequences of your imprudence, and to the rage of the court; if on the one hand he had not hated that court, and loved the people, and if on the other he had not felt some pity for you.

We then clearly perceived, that if you suffered us near you, it was only in order to assure to yourselves the power of exciting popular tumults to the height, that was necessary to terrify the court, and induce them to adopt your measures.

And

And here is a proper place for mentioning the negociation which Genfonné and Guadet entered into with the court by the means of Boze and Thyery.*

Was it not you Brissot, and your friends, who retarded the revolution of the 10th of August? On the following days of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, had you once employed yourselves in counteracting the treasons of La Fayette; the approach of the Prussians; the total want of arms and provisions; the loss of Longwi, and the plunder of our frontiers? To Danton, criminal in your eyes from his services, and dreadful from his popularity, you left the task of appeasing the storm.—You were solely employed in watching the council of the Commons of Paris.—That was your medusa, your hydra, your terror, driven on by them the triumphal car of the people proceeded with noise and rapidity, and crushed the ruins of the throne beneath its wheels. You equally dreaded the intire destruction of that throne, and the force that caused it.—Who has not seen you agitated, alarmed at every trifling resolution of these revolutionary Commons. In your despair, Roland and Claviere could devise no other ex-

* First valet de chambre of the late king, murdered on the 2d of September.

pedient than to feign, or to obey the dictates of that puffillanimity, which the approach of the Prussian army occasioned, and to propose flying from Paris.—Kerfaint, * just escaped from Sedan, proved mathematically, that in 15 days the King of Prussia would sup at the Thuilleries. I was witness of your cowardice, and the honest anger of Danton. “I have, said he, brought to Paris my mother, who is 70 years of age, and my two children; they arrived yesterday.—Sooner than see the Prussians enter this city, my family shall perish with me. Twenty thousand torches shall reduce Paris to a heap of ashes.—Roland take care how you talk of flying, and tremble, lest the people should hear you.” Roland shook with fear and anger at the superior ascendancy of Danton.—I must do justice to Pethion: he was calm and bold, and heard with indignation the proposals of flight.—Perhaps, Pethion was still faithful; but even then he was surrounded by those, who wanted to make a tool of him, and to irritate his mind. He gave his popularity to be squandered away, by those who had none of their own, in a moment

* One of the best naval officers of France, who has since been guillotined, and who was sent after the Revolution of the 10th of August, to seize on Mr. De la Fayette, and who being imprisoned by him, was afterwards released by his revolted army.

when

when it was so essentially necessary to their schemes.

Was it not you, Brissot, and your friends, who surrounded the tyrant when in chains, with all those exterior appearances, which in his disgraceful situation could yet elevate him above other men?—Did I not above all see you, Brissot, running about affecting to seek palaces for his residence, to deceive him with a shew of zeal, and at last fixing on a gaol, in hopes to reduce him to accept the capitulation, you did not yet despair of obtaining from him? When you were endeavouring to calumniate the Commons of Paris, did you not inform the tyrant; that you detested his indefatigable goalers, to whom nevertheless you left the care of your hostage?—When you deprived the Commons of so many functions, why did you disgrace them by still charging them with the guard of the despot, if it was not to profit equally by the safe imprisonment and gratitude of your captive? what have you left untried to arrive at the double purpose of preserving the life of the tyrant: By forwarding his trial; but at the same time attributing his judgment to the Convention whom you hoped to direct; by your saving from the laws the man who criminally broke open the deposit of the papers of Louis, by adopting
 them

them on one hand as proofs of his crimes, and on the other stifling our demands for those of the collection which evidently had been suppressed; by chusing from amongst yourselves the Commissioners immediately charged with preparing the accusations; by giving to the tyrant your friend to defend him; by the art with which you so long kept Louis in dreadful suspense, between poignant fears of the event of his trial, and the hopes of your powerful pity to save him. By all these things, is it not plain unto those who are the least clear sighted, that your object was to obtain from Louis his abdication by the agonies you inflicted, and to pay yourselves for the life you left him by the guardianship and power of his son whom you intended to crown. No! no! it was no willing and self-proffered traitor, who revealed to the Minister the secret of the iron closet: a man, though ever so much a slave, once admitted to the confidence of a King, does not in the gaiety of his heart deliver up his benefactor and his master to the curiosity of a minister. It was Louis himself deluded and compounding with these pedlars, who himself discovered the closet which contained his secret papers.—You now call for proofs of your ambition, and of your projects to *seuillantise* the State, Was it not you, Brissot, through the means of Roland, and Roland through

through your's, who instituted that committee of public opinion, by whose means a system of calumny has been constantly pursued?—Who now doubts, that it was the writings of Roland, which previous to the meeting of the Convention occasioned in the majority of the departments their detestable prejudices against *Paris* and her deputies.—Who has forgot your first sittings: you had monopolized all; 742 members deluded by you assured your triumph? why more than once have you lost your majorities? why has the mountain formed so strong a phalanx? Had you not deceived half of the Convention, that half would still side with you. If the deputation of Paris deserved your slanders, the patriots of the mountain would still be your adherents.

Will you deny the illegal and greedy impatience with which you, from the first sitting, usurped the offices of the Convention? Will you deny the precautions you used in perpetuating the committee of legislation? Have you not constantly persevered in the same system of usurpation? Have you not constantly, till the presidency of *Hérault*, and that over till the presidency of *Breard*, with notorious impudence, prevented the deputies of the Mountain, and more particularly such of them as
were

were deputies of Paris, from speaking in the Convention? When you found out the impartiality with which Gregorie and Herault executed the office of presidents, did not you immediately determine, and hasten their absence, by appointing them commissioners, in order that in your succession of president, no interval might be found for reason and justice to make themselves heard?

Have you not monopolized all the newspapers? Who does not blush with shame, and weep with grief at their perfidy, their rage, their impudence, and atrocious declamations?

When you and us are to be judged, what honest man will contradict us, when we shall say: People of France! We are your brothers, your true equals, we are the people. Your false friends, the enemies of equality, those ambitious men who wished to reign over you, and to extend their empire; when their antagonists were more powerful than they, when they wanted you, they seemed to be interested in your welfare. But since the 10th of August the moment they were delivered by your hands from their enemies, they have repulsed and despised you. They seized by calumny and cunning on the reins of power; to strengthen that power, they have

have joined to their party all such as were bad citizens, the royalists, the aristocrats, emigrants, haughty, avaricious, and idle men, the credulous and the dupes. Proud of this too numerous army, they thought they had nothing to fear in the execution of their projects, but the resistance of republicans and men of the people. Even before our indignation burst forth against them, they began attacking and slandering us; they called us agitators, because, in truth, nothing more violently agitates a true patriot than perfidious proposals which tend to the execution of still more perfidious projects. They called us disorganizers, because we would not suffer the organization of their aristocracy, indeed of something worse, such as we now see it, and as Dumourier proposed it to us.

They accused us of sanguinary plots, for the purpose of preserving these followers through their fears, and to make them averse to our friendly invitations. To arrive more rapidly at their ends, and to give us the reputation of fools, they stopped our mouths during the space of six presidencies.* They cried out murder! and it was us whom they assassinated; they cried out murder, to surround themselves

* About three months.

with satellites, who might support their plans. Those satellites arrived in the capital proved to be portions of the people, like yourselves : the ambitious in vain attempted to seduce them, and they said it was us that corrupted them : we had not one daily newspaper in our favour, and they had 150. We fruitlessly attempted to make truth be heard amongst you, and they vomited forth, printed, and sold to you, whole reams of calumnies and insolent absurdities. We were the corruptors, and yet they dispensed millions to Roland ; we were kings men, and yet they wished to save the king ; we were Orleanists, and yet they corresponded with Dumourier : every time we put letters into the post, they intercepted them : every time that Westerman arrived at Paris from the army, he brought private dispatches to Genfonné, with copies of those addressed to the ministers : they said that we would agree to no Constitution, and now they quarrel with us because we chose one.

They accuse us of finding great defects in their plan of a constitution, and yet they told Delmas,* that when they had projected a constitution impossible to be carried into execution,

* Deputy to the Convention.

they

they had done it on purpose.—They have repeated a hundred times, that we flattered the people, and we have answered them a thousand; that they received them!—We have given our blood, the people have given all their blood, and their resources, to combat our exterior enemies, and they have given in return all the generals, who have betrayed the republic, and all the Vampires who devour it.—It is they who have so well contrived to place these generals, that there was not a single post in France, from Bayonne to Dunkirk, from Nantes to Geneva, where they had not a traitor at their orders.”

Brissot, will you and your friends presume to say that these facts are not exact?

On the eve of the defeat of Aix la Chapelle, with which you were acquainted, did you not wish to send all our forces to the south to attack Madrid and Barcelona? Did you not purposely send for your friend Laclos,* from Bourdeaux, who, after assisting in persecuting the Patriots of the south, undertook to execute this disastrous plan, which Guadet and Brissot supported, and for which they were covered with shame by

* Author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, and chief adviser of the Duke of Orleans.

the Committee, where they had discovered their schemes.

If any other minister but Roland, had suffered the Garde Meuble * to be robbed, would you have preserved that astonishing silence, which, by your directions, was observed on that affair? Would you have been silent, if any other minister had violated the interesting and public deposit of the iron closet in a most scandalous and arbitrary manner, and contrary to all forms of justice? would you have allowed any other minister to have uttered the impudent falsehood, which he did before you in his account of Paris? for any other man, would you have disgraced the Convention, by making them partners in the lye, which Monge, and the other ministers, gave Roland in our presence.

Such a variety of facts so overwhelm the memory, that volumes would be necessary to develop their shades and connections: but one fact shall not escape me. During the trial of Louis, did you not form the project of assassinating the Mountain? were not the murderers to attack us in the front by the corridors, and the passages

* Where the jewels and other rich furniture of the crown were deposited.

to the right and the left? I was told this by citizen Meaulle, who has already announced to the Convention, that he will explain himself further on this atrocious plot.

Did not Guadet so openly avow his private disposition towards Prussia, as one day to say in the committee, "what does it signify to us, whether Dutch cheese merchants are freemen or slaves?" this very Mr. Guadet, who six months before positively called for war, that he might *municipalize* Europe? Did I not hear Brissot, who also wished for a war, that he might *municipalize* Europe, publicly rejoice at the former committee of general defence in the misfortunes of our Belgian army, saying, "that the evacuation of Holland and Belgia was a fortunate event, as it might lead to a peace."

What man so dull-sighted, who, on remarking the frequent conferences between Dumourier and the aid-de-camp Mansfield, in the neighbourhood, and under the auspices of Carra and Silvery, but must have remembered, that Carra, from all eternity, recommended an alliance with Prussia.—Who has forgot Carras's gold snuff-box with the King of Prussia's picture on it?

Is

Is it not an incomprehensible thing, and without example in history, as I told Dumourier myself, in the midst of his triumph, when he appeared before the Convention: that a general who with 17,000 men, had held in check an army of 92,000, and after having together with Aga, Bournonville and Kellerman announced, that the plains of Champagne were about to become the grave of the Prussian army, as they had been that of Attila's, that not a single man should escape; found it impossible to cut off the retreat of that army, when it was reduced to half its numbers by fluxes, when its march was embarrassed by 20,000 sick; and on the other hand, the victorious army had augmented from 17, to 100,000 men. Every foldier of our advanced guard will tell you, that when the rear guard of the Prussian army halted, we also halted; that when they moved to the right, we marched to the left. In a word, Dumourier rather re-conducted the King of Prussia, than pursued him. There was not a single foldier in the army, who was not convinced that some arrangement had taken place by the means of Dumourier between the Prussians and the Convention. He certainly did not treat with the King of Prussia, without at least the consent of the diplomatic committee, and these Anglo-Prussian intriguers; who, delighted with the escape

cape of Frederic-William, instead of calling the general to an account for his conduct, employed themselves in bestowing on Fabius, Metullus, Dumourier, the honours of an oration.

Is it not the intimacy of Dumourier, and his frequent secret consultations with the leaders of the Brissotins, a fact, a notorious fact? Guadet says, that he saw Dumourier at the opera with Danton. It was very natural that Dumourier should affect to appear in public with Danton; but one does not conspire at the opera, it is after the opera. It is then that the public might see the newspaper writer, *Millen*, officiously holding the door of the carriage, while medemoiselle Audinot *, got into it, accompanied by Brissot and Kellerman. † At the time of the king's condemnation

* An actress of the opera.

† Brissot in his last apology distributed to the Convention on the 23d of April, denies having any connection with the generals. He declares only to have seen Dumourier once since his publication of the month of July 1792, in which he calls him the vilest of intriguers. The following fact will shew what kind of confidence one is to place in the assertions of Brissot.—He says in the 2d page of his apology, I defy them to name six persons to whom my pretended favour has obtained places.—This is the answer to this fact—Letter from P. Brissot found on taking off the seals from the papers of Roland, and deposited with the Committee of general safety:—" My dear Roland, I send you a list of those who
you

demnation, Dumourier saw none but the Brissotins; there was a fellow-feeling of opinions and passions between them; whilst Brissot and the Girondists exhausted their rhetoric in the Convention in order to save the tyrant, Dumourier was acting a thousand extravagancies at his own house, raving like a madman, declaiming violently against the Convention, crying out amidst his aid-de-camps before every body, that it was a horrid crime to condemn Louis XVI. and after that act of atrocity, it only remained for the regicides to put him, Dumourier, to death? Is it not a notorious fact, that he wrote a letter, stuffed with impertinence, to the Convention, to support Genfonné's demand of a reprieve, and that that letter was Brissoted* through the zeal of his friends from the table, who feared that the reading of it, by causing the general's dismissal, might deprive them of their buckler, and that they should then lose the fruits of those wise plans, by which they had combined the

“ you are to employ: you and Lanthenas should have it
 “ constantly before your eyes, that you may not name to
 “ any employments whatsoever any other persons than those
 “ who are recommended to you by this list.

Signed J. P. BRISSET.

* A cant term used at Paris for near three years for picking pockets, or other secret stealing, derived from the reputation of the illustrious Brissot.

treason

treason of Mastricht and Aix-la-Chapelle, and be prevented giving Cobourg the entertainment of an easy butchery of our national volunteers, and of the immense losses to the Republic in arms and magazines?

If I, who never saw Dumourier, did not fail, from the details which were known of him, to divine his policy, and to print a year since such a portrait of the traitor, that even this day it wants nothing added to it; what violent suspicions may be conceived against those who saw him every day, who were of all his parties of pleasure, and who have taken so much pains to stifle the truth, and the distrust, every where arising against him, both from the letters of Talon *, and St. Foi, and from his persecution of the battalion of Lombards, and from the depositions each day more strongly attested in the papers of Marat, and from the Journal of Peltier, who emigrated to London to live on history, in a pamphlet titled "Dernier Tableau de Paris," convinced all England of the treasons of Dumourier, in the very time, when at Paris, Villette

* A man who filled one of the higher offices of justice in the Chatelet, and who was the cause of the death of Favras.

sung hymns to him, and incense smoked before him at Tarnas *, and at the Convention.

Is it not a fact that Dumourier proclaimed them his mentors and his guides, and if he had not thus acknowledged them as his accomplices, is not the whole nation witness that the criminal manifestoes and declarations of Dumourier's are only feeble extracts from the Brissotin advertisements, journals, and speeches, and a repetition of what the Rolands, the Buzots, the Guadets, the Louvets had so often disgusted us with.

Was there any thing more scandalous or inconsequent than to set a price on the head of Dumourier, and at the same time to elect La Source president, who had said the same things as the other with infinitely more pathos?

Has not Pitt acknowledged in the House of Commons (as I have shewn in my speech on the appeal to the people) his connections with those whom he called the honest part of the Convention, that is to say, the Brissotins, and the right side? and if Pitt had not acknowledged it, is not that affectation in Brissot, Verguian, and Guadet

* A famous Republican actor.

all willing defenders of the Ice House of Avignon*, of daily making new tragedies on the events of the 2d and 3d of September†; and that gross contradiction of Gorsas, who exclaimed on the 3d of September, "*Let them perish*;" are not these continual repetitions to defame our revolution, and to make it hideous in the eyes of foreign nations? Is not the conformity between the language of the Brissotins and of the English ministry, on the trial of Louis XVI. and their perfidious obstinacy in demanding, with might and main, the appeal to the people, at the time that they knew, since the month of September, of the conspiracy of La Roerie, and that the fire in La Vendée only waited for a spark to set it in a flame, and the peasants of the west a convo-

* In this place were flung the bodies of the unfortunate people massacred at Avignon, who were the most respectable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, and who were murdered in the most atrocious and unprovoked manner.

† Is it not a fact, that Brissot, the Jeremiah of this 2d of Sept. said on the 3d, at the Executive Council, in the presence of Danton, "they have forgot Morande;" that Morande, who has almost deserved from the nation his pardon for his numerous slanders, for having told so many truths of Brissot. Chabot assured me, that on the 2d of September, Brissot equally recollected Morande.

This grief of Brissot's, at the escape of Morande, proves that this hypocrite in humanity has the soul of Tiberius Medicis, or Charles IX. and to him the dead corpse of an enemy smelt well.

cation to take up the white cockade in their primary assemblies. Is not the constant opposition of the diplomatic Committee, and that of General Defence to every REUNION of foreign countries to France, and the insolence of Roland's speeches to alienate the inhabitants of Carrouge, and the slumbers of Le Brun, amidst the favourable commotions of Ireland and Poland, that apoplexy with which the department of foreign affairs seemed struck, instead of so easily creating a diversion by supporting the patriots of Dantzick, Cracovi, and *BELFAST*; and the impolicy of the two Committees in ordering the opening of the Scheldt without marching at the same time into Holland, and their precipitation in declaring war against England, Holland, Spain, and all Europe, and their negligence in repairing our navy, protecting our privateers, and taking the wise measures which were suggested to them;* and their tenderness for Dumourier,

* For example, I know a citizen, who, in the month of September, wrote to the Minister Monge. "It is by famine which menaces us on account of the consumption of the army, and the losses of war, disorders will break out in France in six months. I offer to supply you while the seas are yet open with an immense quantity of oxen from Ireland. Monge knew that he who made the offer, could realize them, but he took care not to accept it.

How can we escape being famished? How shall we get corn from America?

and

and their avowed protection of his crimes, and their intemperance against Pache and Marat, (who kept no terms with him, and crossed his ambitious projects,) and the pouring of so much treasure, and all our magazines into Belgia, and our immense collections of provision at Liege and other places incapable of defence, purposely that Dumourier might deliver up our resources to the enemy; to conclude, their pretended opposition to the appointment of Bournonville; that by being named by the mountain, he might obtain public confidence, and afterwards, when he pulled off the mask, by discontinuing the manufacture of arms, when they found him to be their companion, and brother counter-revolutionist, by his surrounding himself with pick-pockets and royalists, his re-election to the ministry by the Brissotins; are not all these facts, proofs? can any one wish for stronger proofs of the existence in the Convention of an Anglo-Prussian Committee?

Pethion calls for facts:

Is it not a fact luckily pointed out by Philippeaux *, that the treasurer of the king of Prussia in giving in his accounts for last year, sets down a sum of *six millions of crowns for bribery in France?*

* Member of the Convention.

Is it not a fact with which Chabot publicly reproached Guadet, in these terms: "I only know that Guadet asked for leave of absence, for the minister Narbonne, and made the same motion, for which I had the day before been offered 22,000 livres?" Nevertheless, Guadet eats brown bread with the poor; and Roland during his administration, effected to wear thread-bare coats, and worn out breeches. This recalls to my mind the poverty of Octavius, who, to avoid the envy of Jupiter, pretended to have fallen into want, and appeared in the dress of a beggar?

Is it not a fact, that Pethion during his mayoralty, received from the minister of foreign affairs, the sum of 30,000 livres a month, which certainly were not given him by Dumourier, who called himself the most faithful servant of the King, for the purpose of laying the foundations of the Republic? a 1000 livres per diem. I no longer wonder at Pethion's kindness for the Brissotins of the common council; I no longer wonder at the strong opposition he made against the printing of the speech I delivered a fortnight previous to the 10th of August? I no longer wonder that he lived in the
pavi-

pavilion of Vandreuil* ; that from that time he always wore black, as if always in a dress of ceremony like a great pensioner of Holland.

Is it not a fact, that all the determined royalists fought at his side, both Rouzet and the reviser Rabaut †, tired of his portion of royalty, and willing to resign his share to Louis Capet, and that Biroteau, who called croakings of frogs these speeches of those republicans who condemned Louis to death, merely because he was a King, and that Salles, who had the baseness to print, that he would stab himself the day in which France should be without a King?

To how great a degree must the right side of the Convention imagine, that the nation were a people of blind men and fools, when they did

* A most elegant and expensive house, built by that nobleman.

† Rabaud de St. Etienne, a Calvinist minister, and one of the revisers of the first constitution, who has written a history of the revolution, in which he has forgot to name the sums he received from the protestants exiled by the edict of Nantz, for whom he pretended he would recover their estates.—The translator saw him about two years since at Paris in a green and yellow striped satin coat, and two diamond watches and chains of an immense value.—He travelled into Ireland about a year and a half since, to propagate the blessed doctrines of equality.

not

not despair of making them believe that Salles was a republican, and Marat a royalist ?

Was it not clear even to the tribunes*, that from the month of September, a great part of the Convention were royalists; the decree abolishing royalty proves nothing. It was a sentence of death pronounced against a malefactor six weeks after his execution. The greater number of those who composed the constituent and legislative assemblies, ill disguised the anger they felt at seeing their work destroyed by the republicans of the Convention. Their love of royalty appeared in their imprecations against Paris. La Source, the least corrupted of those who voted with the left, and dined with the right side of the Convention, but whose pride was excited against Robespierre, exclaimed, on the 14th of September, " I fear those vile men not vomited forth by Paris, but by some Brunswick : " every thing was lost according to his account, if the departments did not perceive that Paris was, like ancient Rome, who made her provinces, her tributaries ; according to Buzot, Medusa's head : " It is impossible, said he, to form a constitution in a city sullied with crimes." But it was in their places that you

* Places assigned to the people.

should have heard them; there their tatling betrayed them even more than their set speeches; there they expressed the same fury against Paris as Bouillé, who threatened not to leave one stone upon another. One of these aristocrats affected to whisper loud enough for me to hear, "My dear Ducos, one thing consoles me, I hope to buy you a hod, with which you shall sow Paris with salt."

But to come at last to the Socrates, to the Phocion of the right side, to Roland: is it not a fact, a fact proved by letters found at the examination of the papers of this *just man*, that the virtuous minister of the republic was an accomplice of emigration, and had joined with the former nobility and feuillans* against the republic.—Judge by this letter written to him from Montaniac?—

"How am I to thank you for those obliging offers, which will enable me to join my husband at Berlin.

(Signed) NOAILLES LA FAYETTE."

And this other letter:—

"I had perceived, virtuous Roland, during

* A club formed by the framers of the first constitution to maintain it against the Jacobins.

“ your first administration, that our principles
 “ were the same.

(Signed) “ MONTESQUIOU,”
(General of the Army of the Alps.)

These I think are facts, and the thing speaks for itself, and all the diamonds of the Garde Meuble would not save the just man for this affair from the *national razor*.

Jerome Pethion said, in confidence to Danton, when the seals were put on Roland's papers : what affects poor Roland most is, that his domestic sorrows will be made public, and it will be known how bitter a cup cuckoldom was to the old man, and how much it disturbed the tranquillity of that great mind.—We did not find these monuments of his sorrows ; but we found very many proofs that he kept in his pay a flying camp of orators to give battle on the terrace of the Thuilleries, at the coffee-houses of Beauquesne and Procope, and in every other place where they could meet with them, to those, whom they called the champions of Robespierre. We found how very unfaithful his accounts were, since he charged only 1200 livres for secret service money, which at that time procured him so much applause, and yet the single article of what it cost, to influence

Gou-

Gouchon * to rolandize him, and to get him to read one of the petitions of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, that single article comes to more than 2000 livres.—How many more curious facts would have been discovered at the examination of these papers; if, when we determined in the committee of 25, to seize on them, several deputies had not been seen to slide out, and give the alarm to Mr. and Madame Roland, who, by that means, had more than six hours to empty their writing tables:

But are any more proofs in writing necessary to establish the league of Roland with the former nobility? If facts are called for, is there not one which will be an eternal blot on the majority of the Convention, and if not a proof of their being accomplices, at least, that they were far from republican ideas and sentiments of dignity.—What! Roland alone (for I count as nothing his two Brissotin attendants) dare to seize the secrets of the state, and the archives of four years conspiracy? He dared like a Turkish vizier to search alone the iron closet, and that too in a time, when the sound part of the Convention suspected; that from out of it would arise a dreadful accusation against Roland himself, when

* One of the leading Jacobins of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.

it was notorious that his friends Guadet, Vergniant, Genfonné had compounded with the court on the 9th of August; when that transaction was not to be found amongst the papers; when in that history of counter-revolutionary intrigues, gaps were discovered precisely at those epochs, when the Brissotins were accused of trafficking our rights with the Court.—And the majority of the Convention, who were continually alarmed with chimerical fears of a dictatorship, did not rise indignant to punish an act of the most dictatorial authority imaginable! When I ran to the tribune with lungs too weak for my zeal to exclaim against the visirat of Roland, and not being permitted to speak, I was obliged to content myself with telling him, “what confidence can we place in such a despot?” the visier haughtily answered me, “what care I for your confidence!” What arrogance towards a representative of the people, and in a man too, whose infraction of the records of the court treasons could only be excused by saying, as they did, that the old man was not sensible of the importance, and by making him out either drunk or foolish, that he might avoid being thought a traitor. But an excuse for such an act of madness allowable for a citizen, should not have been accepted for a minister; therefore, the laws of Solon made equally criminal the imprudence, or the inebriety of an Archont.

But

But when one recollects that the very day after the 10th of August, every man of sense perceived that the author of the advertisement called "*the Dangers of Victory*," was beating his drum for all the Royalists and Fieullans to flock to him, and that that author was Roland; the proof impression having been seen on his table corrected throughout by the hand of his wife; when one recollects "*the centinel*," and his *advice to the Athenians*," and his rose-coloured hand bills, and his "Letter of an Englishman to the Parisians." In which a minister of the home department (and of this we have legal proofs) under the name of an Englishman, held the same language as Pitt would have held, and called proscriptions and popular fury the foundation of the republic, and pointed out its founders as popular tyrants, nay, more, in which he had the audacity to exhort the people to resume their Ballads, and their trifling character; when one recollects that it was him who in the 23d of September thus concluded the statement he made to the Convention. "*Force is necessary, I think, that the Convention ought to surround itself with a powerful armed force, and that a military body paid and furnished by the departments can alone attain this end.*" Thus did he begin the debate on a pretorian guard; when one recollects that he has never ceased to stir up the departments to Federalisme,

ralisme, and hatred of Paris, which is proved by the declaration of two deputies, La Croix and Danton, who read the letter, " We must league ourselves against Paris ; when a great number of deputies attest, that they were disgusted at the conversation held at Roland's table, to which they were only invited to engage them in a coalition against this city and her tribunes, and her popular clubs, her constituted authorities, and her deputation, all too republican ; when one remembers that he suborned two false witnesses against Robespierre, Barbaroux, and Rebecqui, both of whom affirmed, and the latter laying his hands upon his heart, that "*Panis had proposed to him to make Robespierre dictator* ;" when one recollects his constant assiduity in perfecting the art of overturning a republic, and following the policy of Augustus * ; when one recol-

* Octavius to become emperor, had only need to lay aside the title of Triumvir. He made himself sure of the army, by dividing, through interest and ready money the soldier from the citizens ; and of the people, by raising the price of bread under the republic, which he immediately lowered under the monarchy, and of all the world, by exclaiming against anarchists and factious men, and by making the actor Pilades play *the Friend of the Law* * ; all which Tacitus, with his admirable precision, expresses in three words : " Posito triumviri nomine, militem donis, populum annona, cunctos Dulcedine otii plexit.

* A Brissotin play so called.

jects, that, by the assistance of the millions with which the legislative assembly stuffed him, he had begun, the day after the 10th of August, to work his great machine for the forming a public spirit, and had thus managed for himself in the electoral assembly the nomination of deputies, as the kings had at Rome, that to cardinals hats. It was thus that he caused to be named Louvet at Orleans, Sillery at Amiens, Rabaud de St. Etienne at Troyes *. In short, when there exists

* One must acknowledge Rabaud has not paid Roland with ingratitude, that he has not stolen his seat—charged with poisoning the public opinion, he gave himself up to that trade with indefatigable ardor, and with so much the more success, as he very well knows how to prepare a certain varnish of moderation with which he polishes his venom. It is he who kept the principal shop of calumnies against the Editor, at the same time, of the *Moniteur*, *Mercury*, and *Chronicle*; these Jacobin newspapers were the three throats through which this Cerberus of the Brissotins daily yelped against the Mountain; and never did disguised royalist better deserve to be elevated to the presidency, and to be bell-bearer * to the coalition. There is one anecdote of him which will paint him better than a large volume, Robespierre was in the tribune exerting himself violently for half an hour, and that half hour Rabaud, in a corner looking stedfastly at him, set biting his fingers and papers, and at the

* The president of the Convention has a large dinner bell to ring the assembly to order. I have seen seven broke in the setting of the constituent assembly.

exists proofs in writing of his being leagued with the former nobility; when one recollects that this patriarch (as the lovers of his Penelope used to call him) drunk with their flattery, and emboldened by his old age, dared to take in his hands, trembling with 60 winters, those reins which Montmorin and Delessart had abandoned; and thus, assisted by his two footmen, Le Brun and Clairere (the latter the most daring violator of the secrecy of the Post-office, and the Brissot of finance; and the former a low flatterer, as is proved by his letter to Joseph II. and since employed to pay, at the expence of the nation, the

the same time making all kind of faces. What do you mean by that pantomime, and what is your object in it, said one of his neighbours to him? The priest, who thought he was speaking to one of his friends, answered him, Don't you see that as there is no means of interrupting Robespierre since the decree, which forbids all signs of approbation or dislike. If Robespierre should by chance see one making faces at him it might confuse his ideas, and oblige him to leave off. This trifling fact in appearance shews the soul of Rabaud stripped of all disguise, who is such a reptile, such a slave, an intriguer, a traitor, such a hypocrite, in short such a Brissotin; for what I have just written is the definition of a Brissotin, that when the National Assembly shall be so purged of that kind of men, that people shall ask what a Brissotin was, I will move, that to preserve a perfect specimen of one, this man's skin, be stuffed, and that the original may be kept entire at the Museum of Natural History, and for this purpose I will oppose his being guillotined.—It has since taken place.

newspaper

newspaper writers who detailed the Brissotian Opium) became the coachman of the counter-revolution; Who in recollecting all these events does not perceive that the audacious solitary search of the iron closet by Roland, was not the thoughtless imprudence of a grey bearded minister, but a master-stroke, a magnificent *Brissotement**, which is only to be surpassed by the first essay this virtuous man made on the Garde Meuble about the middle of September.

When Barrington heard at Botany Bay of the robbery of the Garde Meuble, he must have exclaimed, that he was out-done in his own arts by the virtuous minister of the Republic. In spite of Brissot's declamation in the Committee of General Defence "that Roland also eat the same bread as the poor, and that when he quitted for a second time his place as minister, he had not remaining wherewithal to live, if he, Brissot, had not engaged the Executive Council, to give a pension of 3000 livres to the ex-minister, as a reward for his services in the manufactories." It is evident in my eyes, and will be proved to posterity, that it was the virtuous Roland, who robbed the Garde Meuble. The robbers were taken up, and impeached their accomplices;

* I. e. Robbery, or act of sharpening.

almost every thing they carried with them was found upon them, and yet the amount of what was recovered, does not amount to four millions of livres *, and the large diamonds have never been heard of, so that it is easy to guess, that the robbers were purposely introduced into the Garde Meuble, that they might carry off the remains, and serve as a pretext for the plunder, and thus conceal the official theft which had been committed, and the ministers great operation of finance.—You have heard Fabre D'Eglantine, who, with his well-known sagacity, has followed every step of this expedition, clearly demonstrate to us by proofs, which would be considered as such by a jury, that every thing had been prepared before hand to facilitate the admission of those house-breakers, who were only the rear guard of the greater robbers, into the Garde Meuble.—This, at least, is certain, neither the Pitt, the Regent, or the Sancy †, have ever been found, which is a strong supposition of an anterior robbery, and of which nobody could be suspected, but the minister Roland, who had the care of the Garde Meuble.—The observer who shall remark all these various presumptive

* 160,000*l.* sterling.

† The names of three diamonds belonging to the crown of France, supposed to be the largest and most beautiful known.

proofs, and the important indications of Eglantine, and the efforts of Roland to stir up all France against the republican deputies, by employing so many presses for three months, in exciting pity on the situation of Louis XVI. and the whole of his second administration, in which it is clearly to be perceived, that on the very day after the 10th of August, he employed all his endeavours to rally around him the friends of the constitution, and the remains of the royal army. I say, the mind which meditates on these things, and follows their traces, will have as little doubt, as when history shall have found out the Pitt and the Sancy, that in the state of defeat of the royalists after the 10th of August, and in their despair of accomplishing a counter-revolution, according to the fashion of Calonne *, and Austria, Roland held out the bait to them of an Anglo-Prussian counter-revolution *a la Brissot*, and that he engaged them to accept of his counter-revolution, thus lowered in value to them, and in concert with Louis XVI. though a prisoner, he plundered the Garde Meuble, as a

* It is rather extraordinary to see the pains which the Republicans have taken to accuse the Queen of an affection for M. de Calonne. He was in all times the particular object of her dislike, and perhaps her first and greatest interference in public affairs, was to obtain the disgrace of that Minister.

valuable suppliment to the civil list, in order to corrupt the Convention, pay 60,000 livres of debts for Duprat, 80,000 livres for Barbaroux*, and to assist royalty in the agonies of death, and stifle republicanism in its cradle.—I suppress numberless facts, What could they add to the impression of horror, caused by the two last, against the hypocrisy of these virtuous men, of these sages, for it was so that they stiled each other to deceive the vulgar, like priests, by incensing and prostrating themselves before one another? They called us royalists, and yet they were leagued with the ci-devant nobles, with stock-jobbers, and yet they unceasingly preached up a crusade against Paris, and strove to blow up into a flame the cinders of royalty. They called us Disorganizers, while their creatures, Dumourier and Bournonville disorganized the army; and they themselves conspired to disorganize the re-

* According to the 177th number of the Journal of Marseilles Barbaroux, whose whole fortune, when he set out for the Convention, consisted in a poniard, gave for answer to the Marseillois, who were astonished at his being rich enough to keep two secretaries, and numerous servants; that in consequence of the law which abolished entails, he had succeeded to a fortune of 80,000 livres. Now, it is well known, that Barbaroux's relations in the two worlds were not worth such a sum; although to sling dust in the eyes of curious enquirers, he said, he had received this money from an inheritance in the West Indies.

public, by convoking the primary assemblies of Brittany and La Vendee—we were secret partizans of Orleans, yet they were the avowed supporters of Orleans and Dumourier—we were assassins, and yet they could find excuses for the massacres of Avignon, and that they have been the cause of the death of so many thousand citizens on the frontiers by that war, in which they engaged us in spite of our cries. Have they not called us robbers whilst they plundered the Garde Meuble? No, there is no example in history of a faction more impudently hypocritical.

But in spite of their calumnies, and of the clamors of the other sects of bad citizens, of those royalists, of those false patriots who say, that “the Convention has promised much, and performed nothing;” who reproach us with our quarrels, and ask one another in the evening, if in the morning the two parties pulled each other by the hair, as if it were possible for dogs to live peaceably with wolves; in spite of those concealed royalists, who, unable to justify the Brissotins, strive to throw the blame on both sides of the Convention, in hopes of giving us a Louis XVII. in the room of a national assembly; In spite, I say, of all these clamors, I see arise the pillar, on which a grateful posterity shall engrave the names of those courageous men who

so FORCIBLY persuaded the majority, and sealed with the blood of the tyrant, the decree which declared France a republic.—Whatever mixture of villains and traitors may be found in the Convention. I am not afraid to maintain, that there never was any assembly in the universe of whose conduct a nation ought to entertain greater hopes. Let it be remembered from what a pitch of corruption we set out; let it be remembered, that we were in that state which a man who had passed his life in travelling described, when he said “ I should be willing to fix my abode in some city, if I could find one in which power and interest were placed in the hands of honest men;” every where men were either hammers or anvils, *vel præda vel prædo*, or, according to the saying of some ancient sage, “ I never see a city, but I think that I enter a country infected with the plague, where nothing else is to be perceived but dead bodies, which are devoured, and crows which devour.”—In spite of the proclamation of Cobourg, and the calumnies of the Zoilus’s of the revolution, yet must it be acknowledged, that if Petronius lived in our days, he could not hold the same language. Each year the national representation purifies itself: few of the 1200, who composed the constituent assembly appeared pure; and small as their numbers was, it has become less when sifted by the Convention. The legislative
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assembly, though less in number, has furnished more deputies, who were faithful to the interests of the people. The Convention has shewn a still greater number. Doubtless, the fourth purifying scrutiny, will assure, to the friends of Liberty and Equality, a permanent, and invariable, majority in the Convention, above all, when there shall no longer exist a Garde Meuble to plunder, or a Claviere, as keeper of the national treasures.—The abilities so necessary in the founders of the French Republic, will not be wanting in the assembly of the representatives of the people—It is impossible, that the fermentation occasioned in men's minds by four years of discord and civil war in a country like France, should not have formed a people of citizens, politicians, and heroes.—There are a number of citizens in the Convention, who, as yet, are only remarkable for their firmness, but whose abilities would soon be remarked, if the mode of conducting our National Assemblies was not more favorable to prating than to eloquence; as if deep thought, and the feeble organs of human understanding, were compatible with that unceasing continuation of sittings, a legislature, in short, that travels post, and without stopping.*—Their abilities have, however,

* The National Assembly of the French Republic will never arrive at it's true state of perfection, till they shall
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ever, appeared in the discussion of important questions; that alone on the trial of the tyrant, is sufficient to answer all the calumnies of the detractors of the Convention.—Those who have destroyed the prejudices in favour of royalty, and dragged a king of France to the scaffold, *because he was a King*, can never be disgraced in the opinion of nations. We have tried a sublime experiment, that of making mankind happy and free, and which, even if we fail in, will crown us with immortal glory. But we shall not fail, and the storms which threaten the French republic, will be like the winds, which assail a vigorous tree; their most violent gusts only strengthen its roots. The evil was in our blood but the eruption of its venom, by the emigration of Dumourier, and his lieutenants, has already half saved our body politic. The *amputations* of the revolutionary tribunal, (not that of a servant maid, who should have been sent to the hospital,)* but

adjourn, or prorogue their sittings.—One has never till now seen a people condemn their legislators, to make laws like a blind horse, who turns a mill day and night. The Romans discussed a law during 27 days, and there are some sittings in which we issue 20 or 30 decrees.

* A bridewell: The first sentence or amputation performed by these political surgeons, was on a poor cook-maid, condemned to death for pitying *Louis XVI*. They have since amputated the head of a *footman* of 22 years of age, for hav-

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but those of generals and traitor ministers, with the expulsion of the Brissotins from the Convention, will completely insure a sound constitution to the Convention. Already 365 members have, in the person of *Louis XVI.* executed all kings, in effigy, and more than 250 members glory in belonging to the Mountain. Let them cite to me an example in the history of the whole world, of any nation which ever possessed so many representatives truly devoted to her interests. For six hundred years, the English have had a Parliament, and yet only once have they possessed (and that in the long Parliament) a Mountain*, and a number of true patriots; and the number of those true patriots, who brought about such events, did not exceed 100 members. In Rome, only Cato; in Holland, only Barneveldt and the two De Wits, struggled against the genius and the victories of Cæsar and of William.

Let us lose no time in opening the primary schools: it is one of the crimes of the Convention, that they are not yet established. If a national instructor had been seated in the pul-

ing spoken words which *tended to manifest an inclination for Royalty.*

* The Jacobin faction stile themselves collectively the Mountain.

pit of the curate to read to the people commentaries on the Rights of Men, and the almanack of father Gerard * ; already would superstition, that itch of the human mind, have lost its influence on the Bas Bretons, and we should not have seen amidst the lights of this age, and of our nation, the astonishing phænomenon of that darkness which covers La Vendee, Quimpercorentin, and the country of Languinais, where the peasants say to our commissaries, " Make haste to cut off my head, that I may arise again in three days."—Such men dishonour the guillotine, as formerly the gallows was disgraced by hanging the dogs, who were taken with smugglers, by the sides of their masters. I cannot imagine how one can seriously condemn to death these animals with a human face; one should † hunt them down not as in a war, but as in a chase, and in regard to those whom we make prisoners ‡, the best thing we could do with them

* A kind of Jacobin catechism, printed in the name of a Mr. Gerard, an ignorant but honest Breton farmer, Member of the Constituent Assembly.

† This argument smells a little of popular aristocracy, as if the people of Brittany and Poitou were *canaille* by the wise people of Paris.

‡ They do not give themselves that trouble; in a letter from La Planche, one of the commissioners of the Convention

them in the scarcity of provisions we suffer, would be to exchange them against their own oxen of Poitou.

Let there be erected in the place of colleges for Greek and Latin, Seminaries, for teaching gratis, arts and trade in every district.

Let us bring the sea to Paris, that we may shew to nations and to kings that a republican government, instead of ruining cities, is favourable to commerce, which only flourishes in republics, and in proportion to the liberty of a people, and the slavery of their neighbours; witness Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Rhodes, Syracuse, London, and Amsterdam.—We have invited all the *Philosophers* of Europe to assist us with their knowledge in the framing of our laws *. There
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tion with the army sent against the royalists; he informs the Convention, that he had surprized the town of Avranches, which the royalists had occupied two days before, and that he found the town, the hospitals, and other public buildings, very full of old men, women, children, and wounded, but that the national vengeance had been without delay executed on them all, and “ that there was an end of them.”

* *Philosophes*; is the word in the original—of foreigners who have obeyed this invitation are Anacharsis Cloots; Thomas Paine, who is now a fugitive from the guillotine for *moderatism*, i. e. (moderation.) Dr. Priestly declined

is one, however, amongst the ancients to whose wisdom we should have recourse. It is Solon, the lawgiver of Athens; a number of whose institutions appear calculated to take root amongst us. Indeed, it should seem as if he had the French in contemplation when he framed his laws. Montesquieu exclaimed with admiration in reading the Athenian mode of taxation. In that city, he who only possessed the common necessities of life paid his contribution to the state, by his person, either by serving in the armies, or attending the parish meetings*; but the man, whose fortune amounted to ten talents, supplied his country with a galley; if

not from aversion, but from diffidence, and sent his proxy to adore the new lights—of their own philosopher, who have co-operated with their countrymen—the catalogue is longer. Bailli, guillotined for obeying the orders of the Constituent Assembly. Raynal, exiled for explaining away the right of popular murders. Condorcet, condemned to death (though not yet taken) for being a Brissotin, although he took part with the Septembrizers, and voted that the king should be sent to the galleys. The Duc de la Rochefaucault, murdered by the people at the instigation of his tutor, and dependent Condorcet. Champfort, who murdered himself to avoid the guillotine—after this treatment of modern *philosophes*, they do well to have recourse to ancient philosophers.

* The Convention have adopted this idea, by decreeing that all citizens who give up a day's labour to the important duties of political debates in their section, shall receive 40 sous a day to be paid by a tax on the rich.

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possessed of twenty talents, with two; and if master of thirty with three galleys. Nevertheless, to encourage commerce, however great the fortune one had acquired, if one was a Beaujon, or a Laborde*, the law could only exact a tax equal to the maintenance of three galleys, and a small vessel.—To indemnify the rich, they possessed a proportionable degree of consideration in their tribes, were elected to places in the municipality, and covered with honours.

In Athens, there was a treasury for paying the expences of the theatres, and indemnifying the national comedians for the seats of poor citizens. Their play-houses were their primary schools; but certainly inferior to our colleges of arts and trades, when the Convention shall have established them.

There, no man was exempt from serving in person in the war, unless he equipped and maintained, at his expence, a soldier and his horse, by which means the army was not only supplied with an excellent cavalry, but the camp and army were not embarrassed with a number of

* Two bankers of immense wealth; the former is dead, and the latter is in prison on account of his wealth. Every other rich merchant of Paris is in the same predicament.

shopmen, and rich traders, who must be detrimental to the service.

There, those of the same tribe, and of the same district, were formed into the same company or squadron; they marched, they fought by the side of their relations, of their friends, their neighbours, or their rivals: none dared be guilty of cowardice in presence of such witnesses.

There, there was established a calm and easy retreat for those who had deserved well of their country. This it would be easy for us to imitate, and even to surpass by turning into magnificent military colleges, Versailles, and all the palaces of despots, for those heroes of liberty, who shall have vanquished them.

There, was to be seen the most affecting institution, which was ever practised by any people, the last day of the feast of Bacchus, at the conclusion of the last tragedy, in presence of the senate, of the army, and of a crowd of citizens, a herald presented to the people a number of young orphans, the adopted children of the nation, in these terms: "Behold the sons of those who died in battle bravely fighting for their coun-

country. The people who have adopted them, have brought them up till they have attained the age of twenty, and this day, in which they arrive at that period, the people gives them a complete suit of armour, sends them back to their friends, and assigns to them the most honourable seats in all places of public entertainment.

I acknowledge, we have not yet engrafted amongst us all these noble institutions; I acknowledge, that the state is not in this moment entirely exempt from disorders, anarchy, and pillage; but was it possible to sweep out so great an empire, without occasioning a little dust and dirt. The nation has suffered, but was it possible to cure it, without making it thinner? She has paid an excessive price for every thing, but it is her ransom that she pays, and she will not always be betrayed. We have already accomplished the oath the nearest the heart of a citizen; that oath which every young man of Athens made on becoming 18 years of age, "To leave his country more rich and flourishing than he found it."—We found France a monarchy, and we shall leave it a republic.

Let fools and coxcombs then daily repeat that old adage of our grandmothers, that a republican

lican government is not suited to France.—Red heels and scarlet robes, the courtiers of the antichambers, and the courtizans of the Palais Royal, chicanery and Pharoah, pimping and prostitution; stock-jobbers, and financeers; spies and sharpers, rogues and infamous men of all descriptions; and lastly, priests, who absolved you from every crime on condition of tythes: these are the professors, these are the men to whom a monarchy is necessary; but although it should be true, that formerly republicanism and democracy could never take root in a country of so large extent as France; yet the knowledge and lights of the 18th century, makes absurd all comparison between this and ancient times. Plato said, if a painter shewed you a woman whose charms surpassed even imaginary ideas of perfect beauty, would you find fault with her, because there never yet existed one so handsome; for my part, I maintain that plain common sense will see evidently that a Republic alone can keep the promise to France, vainly made by monarchs for 200 years—a fowl on every man's table. *

* Henry the Fourth used to say, that if he lived, he hoped to make France so flourishing, that the poorest man in his kingdom should have his fowl and pot, i. e. it is then in the pot.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

THIS Fragment does not contain the tenth part of the history of the Brissotins ; the greatest number of these facts having been wrapped up in darkness, or else having taken place at a distance so great, as to be out of the reach of my telescope. It must therefore be left to time and chance to reveal to us certain anecdotes ; such as, for instance, that of the death of Favras *, which I related in the fourth number of “ *La Tribune des Patriots*.” Time will also inform us how the Prince de Poix escaped from the Mayor’s house on the 11th of August, and what Angel entranced his guards, and led him forth from the mayor Pethion’s house, in a manner as miraculous as St. Peter from his chains.—History will learn from his servant whether this prodigy was owing to the hundred thousand crowns given to his municipal keepers, as was then said, or

* Camille Desmoulin pretends, that Favras was saved from death by braces, which passed from under his arms to the gibbet, and prevented his hanging, and that he has since been seen at Brussels. The improbability of such a fact, is a sufficient proof against it, besides which, when in a foreign country, there could be no reason for Mr. d^e Favras to conceal his existence.

whether the true explanation of this affair, is not to be found, as I have also heard, and which seems very probable, in the following account.

Every body knows, and Robespierre has, in his seventh letter to his constituents, (a letter in spite of detraction, equal for its attic wit and pleasantry to the best of the provincials *) shewn with much ability, that Pethion not only did not wish for the 10th of August, and strove as much as possible to hold back from it; that accompanied by Rœderer, he not only visited the posts of the palace, and gave his municipal benediction to the Swiss Guards, and the Knights of the Poignard, but when Mandat was arrested, and received on the steps of the town-house, the punishment of his crime †. He was accused of having delivered to this General a written order to fire on the people in case of in-

* The famous work of the celebrated Paschal, so much admired by Addison.

† This gentleman commanded the National Guards on the 10th of August, and received orders from the municipality to defend the palace. On the 9th in the night, the self-created Revolutionary Municipality, drove the old municipal officers from the town-house, seized on the chief direction, and sent for Mandat in the name of those from whom he had received orders, and caused him to be murdered by the people, by which means the national guards of the palace being without a commander, did not dare act, and deserted the Swiss.

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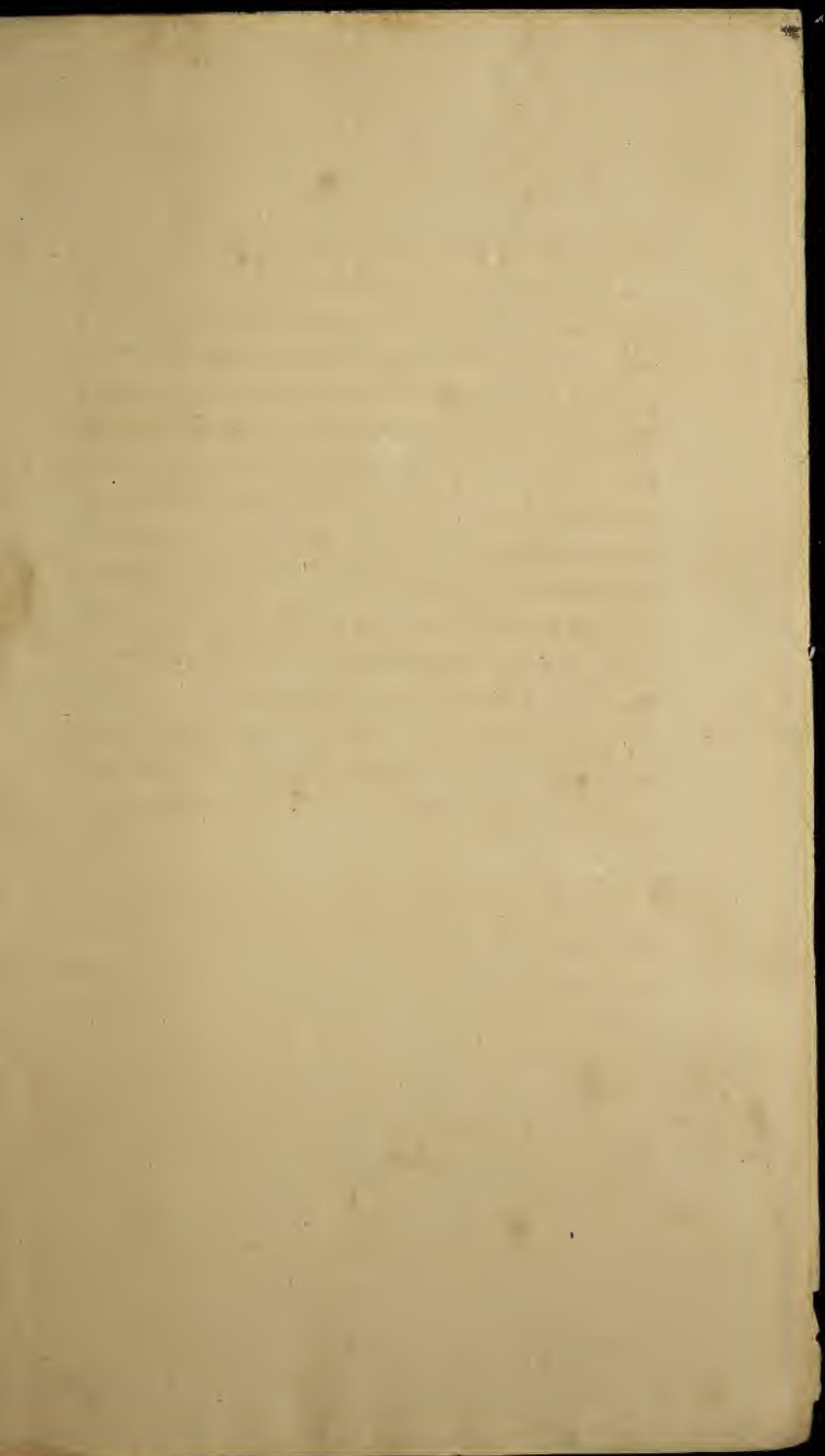
surrection.—I have it from very good authority, that it was to this order signed *Pethion*, that Phillipe Noailles owes his safety.—Whether it was given them by Mandat, or by what other means they obtained this precious writing, is of little consequence, but some persons nearly connected with the Prince de Poix, held that order in their hands, when they came to solicit his release from Pethion, and when he made some difficulties on taking upon himself so dangerous a step as that of liberating the Captain of the Royal Guards, they determined him by the fear of a greater danger, and shewing him the paper, threatened, unless he saved his prisoner from the guillotine, to place him, himself, under the fatal razor.—It is said, that there was no need of repeating this twice to Pethion, for he found out a back door, which he opened for the captain of the guards.

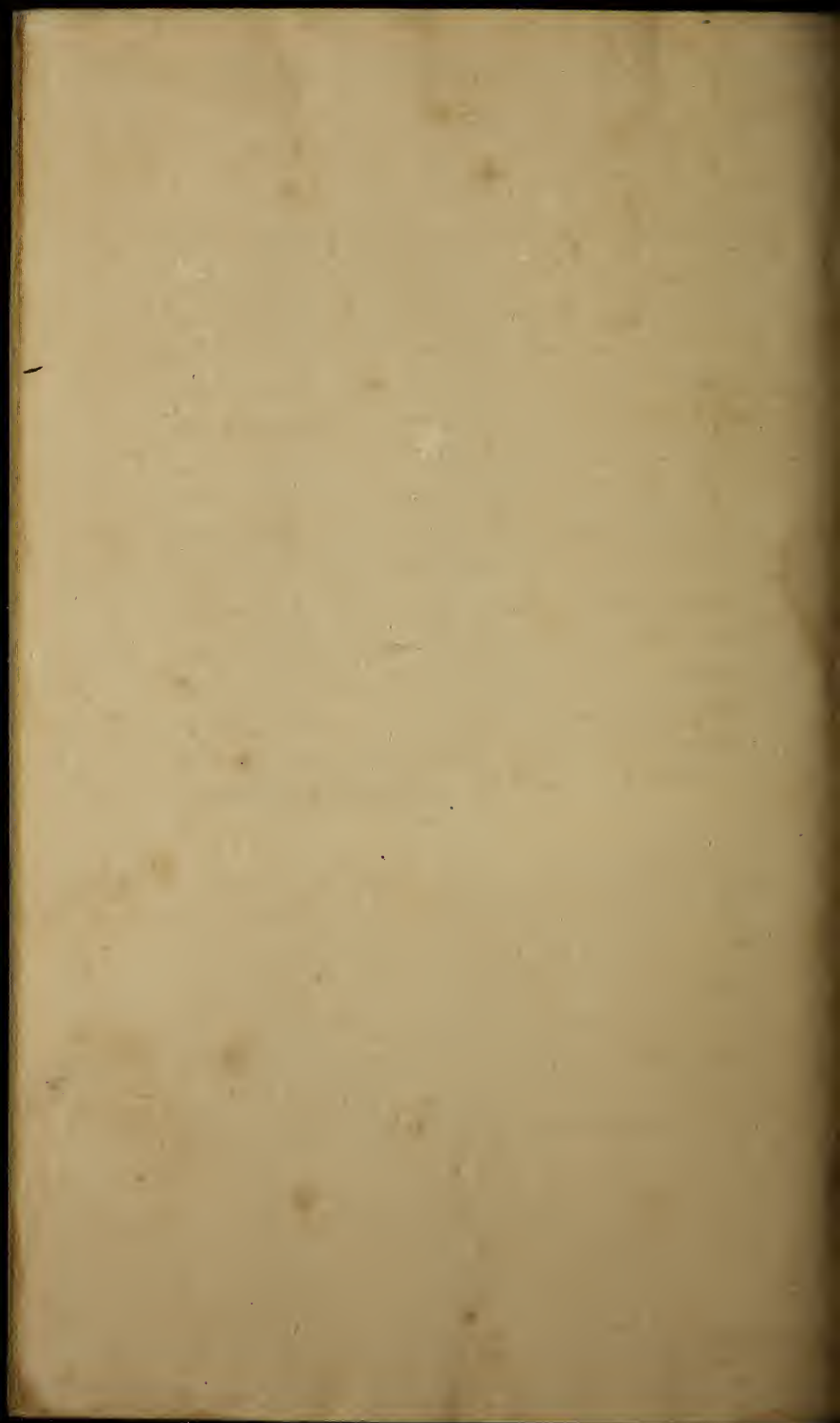
I have even omitted several facts of public notoriety; such for instance, as that which Meaulle asserted in the Tribune, as being himself assured of the truth of it, that the leaders of the right side wished to massacre the Mountain, and that Barbaroux, one of their chiefs, had dared to give orders to the 2d battalion of Marseilles, and command them to surround the Convention the evening before sentence was passed on the King.

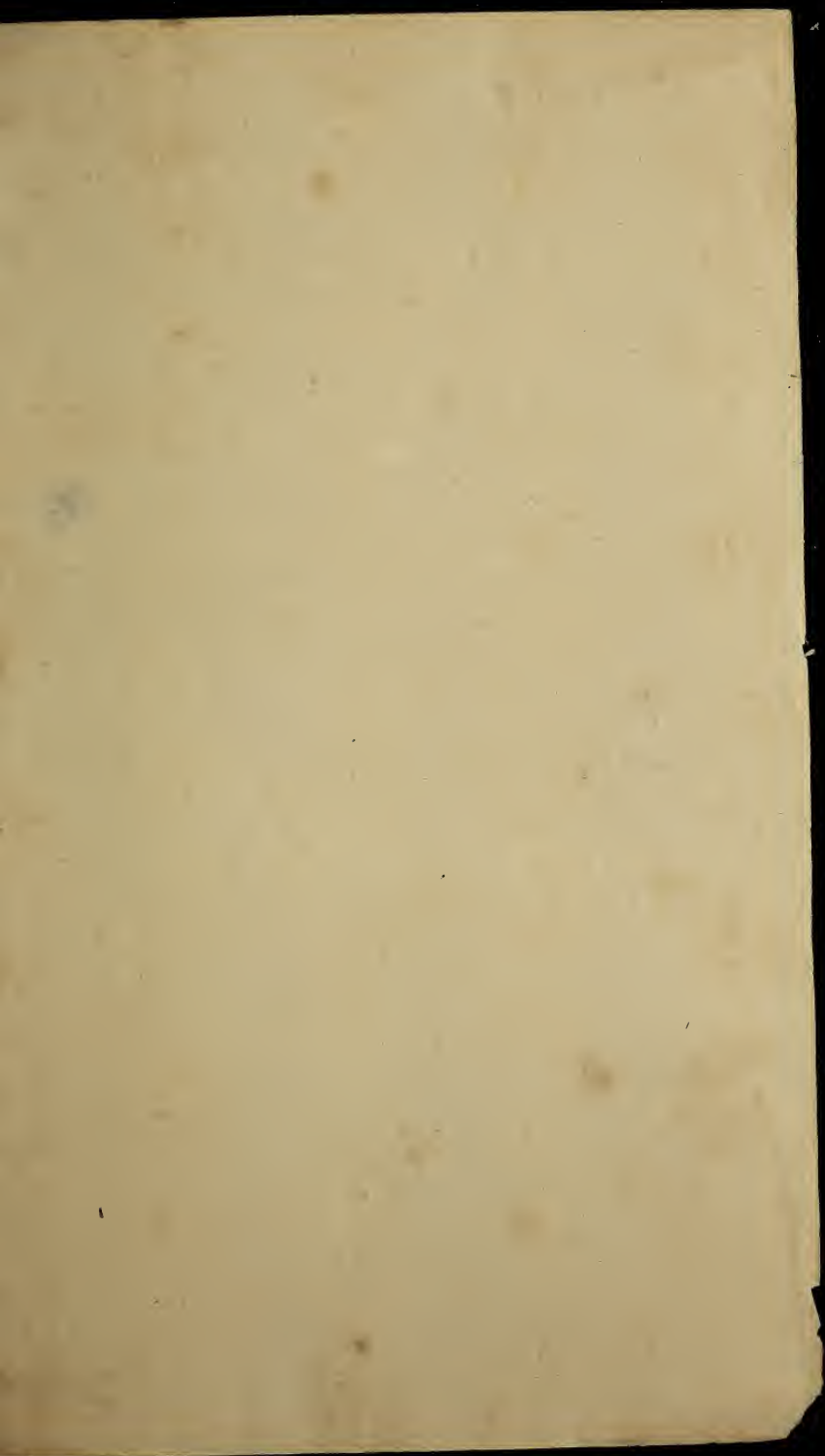
King.—But what I have already related, is sufficient to prove the guilt of the Brissotins, and that their trial may be looked on as completely finished, and it is clear, for instance, that from the authentic papers I have quoted, that Roland ought to have been delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal the instant that, in the search of his papers those pieces had been found, which would have put his condemnation beyond all doubt?—Is it not sufficient to raise ones indignation, that Claviere and Le Brun his accomplices in counter-revolution, and like him, responsible for all the bloodshed in La Vendée, should still retain their places in the ministry. After such an unpardonable act of negligence, am I wrong in merely accusing of weakness the Committee of Public Safety?

The Club in the sitting of the 19th of May 1793, the second year of the French Republic, have decreed the impression and distribution of this Pamphlet, and that it should be sent to the corresponding Societies, signed Bentabole, President; Champertois, Vice President; Coupe de l'Oise, Duquesnoy, Sambat, Coindre, all Members of the Convention, and Prieur Member of the Constituent Assembly, Secretaries.

F I N I S.







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